DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 334 316 UD 028 134

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TITLE Americanization through Public Education of Japanese Americans in Hawaii: 1930-1941. The Effect of Extracurricular Activities on the Americanization Process.
PUB DATE 91
NOTE 31p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Chicago, IL, April 3, 1991).
PUB TYPE Historical Materials (060) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Acculturation; Athletics; Clubs; *Extracurricular Activities; High Schools; High School Students; Immigrants; *Japanese Americans; Mass Media Role; Personal Narratives; *Public Education; Recreational Activities; Student Government
IDENTIFIERS *Hawaii

ABSTRACT

Using data from 60 oral testimonies, student handbooks, and yearbooks, this paper describes the Americanization of Japanese Americans in Hawaii through public school education between 1930 and 1941, delineating the roles that participation in student government, sports, clubs, assemblies, and home recreation played in the socialization process. Extracurricular activities rapidly expanded in American schools during the first part of the twentieth century, providing students with practice at adult-like enterprises and preparing them to become active participants in the community. Four factors reduced Japanese Americans' participation in extracurricular activities, however: work, lack of transportation, attending Japanese language school after regular school, and their small physical size. Nevertheless, Japanese Americans were well represented, for instance, within student body governments of Hawaii's public schools. These students were thus actively participating in a model of the democratic process. Except for basketball and football, Japanese Americans participated actively in interscholastic and intramural athletics, resulting in a strong bond with the American culture. Club participation was another source of socialization. The Japanese Students' Association even had a stated concern of socializing its members to the American culture. Japanese American students also participated in school assemblies, where school spirit was promoted and American norms reinforced. In the area of home recreation, the subjects report benefiting from the English section of the local Japanese newspaper, borrowed library materials, and radio shows. Taken as a whole, the influence of these activities subconsciously instilled American ideals into their recipients. A list of 94 notes is included. (CJS)

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Americanization through Public Education of Japanese Americans in Hawaii: 1930-1941

The Effect of Extracurricular Activities on the Americanization Process

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Presented by Alan R. Shoho, Ed.D.
Paper submitted to the 1991 AERA Conference in Chicago, Illinois
Wednesday, April 3, 1991
Session 5.34, 2:15-3:45 p.m.

UD028134

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Introduction

The focus of the present paper is the Americanization of Japanese Americans through public education in Hawaii between 1930 and 1941. The contents for the paper were based upon the methodology, findings, and conclusions of the presentor's doctoral dissertation completed in August of 1990.

One highlight of the dissertation was the data collection phase. A primary source of data was the acquisition and analysis of sixty oral testimonies given by study participants who were educated in Hawaii public schools between 1930 and 1941. The oral testimonies were collected during the Summer of 1989 in Hawaii.

While the contents of the dissertation addressed a number of issues related to the Americanization of Japanese Americans in Hawaii, the contents of the present paper concentrates on the impact of extracurricular activities on the Americanization process. In particular, the present paper delineates the contributions of participation in student government, sports, clubs, assemblies and home recreation toward the Americanization of Japanese Americans in Hawaii.

Extracurricular Activities

During the first forty years of the twentieth century, extracurricular activities in public schools were rapidly expanded to meet the growing demands of the student population. The ascent of extracurricular activities was called an "eloquent protest" against traditional education which failed to meet the aspirations of those students aspiring to achieve a middle class status.[1] According to R. Freeman Butts and Lawrence A. Cremin, educators across the country who held conservative views were not satisfied with the direction and expansion of extracurricular activities into the high school curriculum.[2] Unlike the general curriculum of basic subjects where direct benefits were outlined and taught to each student, extracurricular activites had a hidden value which was difficult to identify and assess. Extracurricular activities encompassed a diverse range of items from interscholastic athletics to social and service clubs to general assemblies.

The purpose of the present paper is to examine the extracurricular activities of Japanese American students at school and at home and to assess the activities'

contribution to Americanization process. Evidence provided by study participants, student handbooks, and yearbooks shows that school-organized extracurricular activities along with activities organized through the church, scouts, and YMCA played an active role in the Americanization of Japanese Americans in Hawaii during the 1930's. The types of extracurricular activities discussed in the present paper include school government, sports, clubs, assemblies, and home recreation activities.

In a 1930 Hawaii Governor's Advisory Committee on Education report, the value of extracurricular activities in the school curriculum was emphasized in the following manner:

> If "education is life" rather than merely a formal preparation for adult life then the school must set up an environment which provides activities which are life-like. If we want our young people to engage in wholesome activities and to participate in community enterprises as adults, then they must be taught to engage in such activities when they are young. In other words, the only guarantee which we can have that a boy or girl will live fully and richly as an adult is that he has lived fully and richly as a child.[3]

Furthermore, in terms of finances, the cost of extracurricular activities to the Territory of Hawaii was slight. The Hawaii Department of Public Instruction policy required teachers to participate in the supervision of school extracurricular activities, thus eliminating the need to hire outside personnel and incur additional expenses.[4]

In addition to the Hawaii Department of Public Instruction's assessment of extracurricular activities, Andrew William Lind in his book, *Sociological Appraisal of Hawaii's Rural Youth,* made the following assessment about extracurricular activities and their importance to island youth:

> Politics provides an exciting pastime and a valued source of recognition for a limited few, while the varied activities of fraternal and religious organizations and civic associations absorb the energies of still others. Sports and competitive athletics play a very prominent part in the lives of Island youth and clearly assist in diverting the blocked ambitions of many into channels that are socially acceptable.[5]

At McKinley High School, students were encouraged by school personnel to participate in school affairs. To Japanese Americans, McKinley High School became,

in the words of Gail Y. Miyasaki, "the community."[6] During the late 1920's and 1930's, it was the belief of McKinley's principal Miles Elwood Cary that extracurricular activities played an important role in teaching students to become active participants in the community at large.[7] At McKinley High School, investigators from the Governor's Advisory Committee found that approximately 50 percent of the students participated in at least one extracurricular activity.[8] This percentage of students in extracurricular activities might have been higher if not for several factors affecting Japanese Americans students who comprised an overwhelming percentage of the student population.

For Japanese American students, four factors reduced participation in public school extracurricular activities. The first factor was work. During the 1930's, many Japanese American students were required to work to help support their family. For these students, work usually started right after school. The type of jobs a student held were usually unskilled in nature, ranging from housework to cooking and waiting in restaurants to plantation work.

The second factor which minimized extracurricular activity participation on the part of Japanese Americans was the physical distance between home and school and the ability to transport oneself. For rural students this was particularly evident. Public transportation to and from school was not convenient or available. There was usually only one bus to catch going home and students could not afford to miss it. A study participant recalled how distance and transportation impaired his ability to participate in school extracurricular activities, "I had to be sure to get home by a certain time so there wasn't much time for me to spend, extracurricular. Because I had to be home by a certain time, and I gotta [*sic*] start studying Japanese."[9]

The third element discouraging participation in extracurricular activities at the public school was attendance at the Japanese language school. Since a large percentage of Japanese Americans attended after-school sessions, participation in public school extracurricular activities was curtailed. As study participants recalled, the Japanese language school hindered their ability to participate in public school activities. Four male study participants summarized the situation between the

Japanese language school and its effect on public school extracurricular activities by saying:

> We had to go to Japanese school so that eliminated any participatory team sports. Right after 2:30 P.M., we had to go to Japanese school that started at 3 P.M. and went till 5 P.M.[10]

> Because our days were filled up to the last minute--after high school we went to Japanese school, and after that we had to all come back to Waipahu which is by then it was almost dark.[11]

> I was pretty good in baseball. I couldn't play because I had to go to Japanese school. Baseball practice was right after English school. I couldn't play sports because I had to go to Japanese school.[12]

> I wanted to play baseball but I had Japanese school. I played hookey a few times. Eventually, I didn't make the team so.[13]

The Japanese language school factor became less prevalent as students entered their junior and senior years of public high school since a number of Japanese Americans only attended Japanese language school up to *chugakko* (middle school).

The final factor deterring Japanese American participation in extracurricular activities, interscholastic athletics, in particular, was their physical size. In general, Japanese American students were smaller in overall stature in comparison to children of Hawaiian, Portuguese, and Anglo ancestry. This factor discouraged a number of Japanese Americans from participating in sports, such as football and basketball, where height and weight were considered important determinants for success. In sports such as baseball, tennis, boxing, and swimming, size was not considered an overriding factor in one's ability to compete. Several study participants commented about their size and its relationship to athletics by saying:

> In high school I didn't have extracurricular activities. I didn't go into sports because I was undernourished. I was always in the nutrition class so I never attended any sports class.[14]

> . . . football you had to have the size, and Japanese is small stature so mostly other nationalities whoever had the physique. Mostly the baseball team was predominantly Japanese. I noticed the size didn't matter then.[15]

> . . . many of the Orientals just weren't big--over 150 pounds. I remember at McKinley in the early part, they made a special convocation and the coach jokingly said, "Anyone over 150 pounds turn out for the team." They were just short.[16]

As a result, a number of intramural and community sports leagues were formed to provide athletic activity. These leagues catered to players who did not make the high school athletic team or who were unable to compete due to circumstances cited previously.

In comparing the life of Japanese American children to children of other ethnic groups, Jane Stratford, a graduate student in 1930, concluded the following about Japanese American students and their activities:

> They [Japanese Americans] have fewer magazines, English books, and musical instruments in their homes.
>
> They eat more fish and drink more tea than the others. They take less part in athletics, attend fewer high school functions, and hold fewer high offices. They have the poorest musical taste and are remarkably fond of old American melodies.
>
> They show signs of greater ambition to become educated and to be successful in spite of handicaps. They read more of the best magazines and fewer of the inferior. More of them like to read in leisure time. They earn much more of their school expenses than do the others.[17]

In the following sections, further attention is focused on the influence of school extracurricular activities, such as school government, sports, clubs, school assemblies, and home recreation, on the Americanization of Japanese American students in Hawaii.

Student Government

As stated by the Governor's Advisory Committee, the student body government was "developed as a means of developing a community consciousness on the part of the students."[18] The feeling of the committee was that students needed more exposure to the practical side of their education than what was being offered in the classroom. Classes taught students about government, but the student government gave students an opportunity to practice government.

What purpose did the student government serve? In McKinley High School's 1934-35 student handbook, the purpose was stated as, "The general purpose of this

organization shall be to cooperate with the school authorities and the community in promoting the welfare of McKinley High School."[19]

According to an article written in 1941 by Mitsuyuki Kido, the sophomore class adviser at Farrington HighSchool, the basic principle of school government was to build citizenship.[20] Kido wrote:

> Building citizenship through student participation in their own government rests on two basic principles of good teaching, namely, learning by doing and learning in real life situations. It rests also upon the assumptions that students who are alert to the responsibilities of a school democracy will become alert citizens in a national democracy. Through student participation in their government, information can be imparted, skills developed, ideals and attitudes taught, in situations that are real and meaningful.[21]

Contrary to Stratford's assessment in 1930 that Japanese American students rarely held offices in school governments, evidence from McKinley High School yearbooks of the 1930's showed that Japanese American students dominated positions in school government. This was not the case at Roosevelt English Standard High School where Japanese American students were a distinct minority within the student population. With the exception of English standard schools, Japanese Americans were well represented within the student body governments of Hawaii's public schools.

At McKinley High School, the student government was devised with the purpose of assimilating the practical aspects of American democracy. A representative assembly, an executive council, and a student body court system were incorporated to resemble the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the United States government.

The representative assembly was a group of student representatives from every homeroom, chartered club, and standing committee on campus. The purpose of the representative assembly was to give each school entity a vested interest in the determination of school policy. Each representative was given one vote in deciding school affairs, although in matters of amendments to the constitution, decision-making was deferred to the student body. Under article eight of the McKinley High School

constitution of 1934-1935, "The duties of the Representative of each home room shall be to lead discussion and conduct business connected with the Student Body in his or her room, and to represent his room in the Representative Assembly."[22]

Similar to the executive branch of the United States Government, the executive council was composed of high ranking officers and administrators within the school. The executive council at McKinley High School consisted of: the principal, the three class advisers, the three class presidents, the six student body officers, the student sheriff, and the adviser of the student body court. The duties of the executive council were outlined as follows:

> The general function of the Executive Council shall be to consider matters to be referred to the Representative Assembly, and to act directly in matters that require such action.
>
> The Council may recommend to the Representative Assembly the appointment or election in each record room of a student assistant secretary-treasurer.
>
> The Council may recommend to the Representative Assembly the delegation of special duties, such as traffic regulation and building's decoration, to special organizations or groups in the school.
>
> The Council may recommend to the Assembly the election, by the student body, of song and cheer leaders and their assistants.[23]

The final branch of student body government to be instituted was the court system. At McKinley High School, 1929 marked the implementation of a student body court system. Devised as a practical experiment of the legal system, the primary purpose of the court system was to help students rather than punish them.[24] By simulating a legal court environment, students were given practical lessons of a real-life justice system.

Working in conjunction with the deputy system, alleged violators were prosecuted for various school violations in the student body court. The most common cases brought before the court were, "transferring identification cards and athletic cards, cutting class, giving false identity when arrested by a deputy, fighting, smoking or gambling on the campus or vicinity, and leaving campus without a pass."[25]

The student body court consisted of fifteen members: a sheriff, a commissioner, nine board examiners, two stenographers, a clerk, and an adviser.[26] The primary

members, the sheriff, commissioner, and board examiners, were appointed officials. The sheriff was appointed by the principal of the school, who in turn appointed the commissioner. The nine board examiners were selected, three from each grade level class, by the student body clerk, who held double duty as clerk of the government and court.

Court procedure at each trial was regulated by mandate and performed in the following order:

1. All Officers take the pledge of impartial justice.
2. The clerk reads the calendar showing what cases will come up at following sessions.
3. The accused and witnesses take the pledge to tell the truth.
4. The trial and verdict.[27]

Once a trial decision was made, the board of examiners selected a form of discipline, which upon approval by the court adviser, was implemented. This experience provided an example of the American system of justice.

As shown above, student government was an on-going lesson in American democracy. Students were encouraged and given every opportunity to participate in a real-life experiment. By providing an environment to practice democracy, educators and the community at large envisioned an experiment where children of immigrants would experience the American way of life and assume it.

Sports

When addressing the topic of school sports, the tendency of the general public is to focus on interscholastic athletics. On the contrary, the sports situation in Hawaii during the 1930's, especially for Japanese Americans, was geared more towards intramural sports rather than interscholastic athletics. What role did athletics play in the education process? According to the Governor's Advisory Committee, athletics represented an integral part of an adolescent boys' education. In addition, the committee asserted that, "Young men of all times have engaged in vigorous physical

activity, and boys of high school age need a certain amount of strenuous physical exercise for the development which it brings."[28]

What did athletics contribute to one's education? American athletics taught Hawaii's students the concepts of competition, sportsmanship, and cooperation. In addition, physical activity improved the general health, posture, and developed a grace of bodily movement.[29]

Evidence from McKinley and Roosevelt High School yearbooks throughout the 1930's showed that female interscholastic athletics was a new phenomenon. Prior to the 1930's, athletics and physical activity in Hawaii were primarily for boys. As a female study participant said, "Girls never played. . . . Instead we were sent to home ec classes."[30] Other study participants supported this assessment by stating:

> Strictly boys. Among Orientals, Japanese parents were strictly for boys.[31]
>
> The girls were less exposed to athletic events. They were supposed to go into home economics.[32]
>
> I think it was more for boys. I think the reason was even at that time (more so than now) that girls weren't supposed to be involved in that kind of activity.[33]
>
> More for boys. I don't recall my friends joining any club or doing any sports. Those days I don't think they had much sports for girls.[34]
>
> I think more boy-oriented. Girl things were more of an afterthought and put together more loosely.[35]

In addition to the yearbooks cited above, student handbooks from McKinley High School and Kalakaua Junior High School portrayed athletics as a boys' endeavor. School songs and cheers were geared towards supporting boys' events. As examples of how athletics were male oriented, two songs from Kalakaua Junior High School were cited:

> Kalakaua must win boys,
> Kalakaua must win
> Fight to the finish
> Never give in
> Rah-rah-rah
> You do your best boys
> We'll do the rest boys
> Play on to victory.[36]

Get in the game and win boys
Every blessed mother's son of you
Stand firm along the line boys
With your courage, strong and true
let every vale and mountain echo to the Purple and White
Get in the game and win boys
Kalakaua calls to you.[37]

In the 1930's, athletic activities provided for girls included basketball, volleyball, track and field, tennis, and swimming. Unlike modern interscholastic athletics, the nature of girls' athletics was more intramural than interscholastic. Evidence from McKinley and Roosevelt yearbooks during the 1930's showed no signs of interscholastic competition between schools in girls' sports,[38] although one female study participant mentioned the existence of interscholastic athletics for girls. For the most part, competition for girls was kept within each school and limited. As mentioned earlier, girls were not thought of in the same light as boys when it came to athletics.

By contrast, boys' athletics had an interscholastic component and an intramural component. Boys' athletics included football, basketball, baseball, track and field, tennis, boxing, and swimming. Interscholastically, boys from McKinley High School competed against schools like Roosevelt, Punahou, St. Louis, Iolani, Kauai, Hilo, Maui, Kamehameha, and some mainland junior colleges like Chaffey in the fall of 1930 and Ricks of Idaho in the fall of 1935. These same sports were provided in intramural leagues through the school as well as through community leagues outside of school. Additionally, Japanese Americans competed in martial arts like judo, karate, and kendo. The martial arts activities were usually under the supervision of Japanese language school teachers or their Buddhist counterparts at the church.

To become eligible to participate in athletic events, students needed to meet two basic requirements. These were stated in the 1931-1932 Kalakaua Junior High School student handbook, "All boys who are 18 years of age or more on September 1 will be barred from inter-junior high competition. Boys who are not physically strong are not allowed to participate in strenuous sports for their own good."[39] Similar regulations were installed for high school athletics. At McKinley High School, athletic eligibility was based on the by-laws of the Interscholastic League of Honolulu which

governed all major athletic events. According to the by-laws, athletic eligibility was based primarily on five articles. These five articles were:

> Enrollment-No student shall be eligible to participate in football whose school record does not show him to have been undergoing instruction within fourteen calendar days after the opening of the school year. If, however, the school record shows him to have undergoing [*sic*] instruction three months before a sport occurring later in the school year, he may participate in that sport.
>
> Scholarship-No student shall be eligible to participate who has not made a passing grade in three units of new prepared work for the last school year in which he was in attendance and is not taking four units of such work during the current semester and passing three.
>
> New work is defined as subjects in which the student has not previously made a passing grade.
>
> Participation-Participation in athletics occurs when a student actually takes part in baseball, basketball, or football game or a rifle match or when he qualifies for finals or appears on the final day in a relay.
>
> No student shall participate during more than four school years. No student who has graduated from a four year high school course or the equivalent shall participate.
>
> Transfers-A student transferring from a member of the H.I.F. (Honolulu Interscholastic Federation) to any interscholastic league is barred for one year if he competes for the H.I.F. unless his parents changed residence.
>
> Age Limit-No student nineteen (19) and six (6) months years of age at the beginning of any athletic season, shall be eligible to participate, except those who had participation before January 1, 1934.[40]

For Japanese American students, intramural and citywide leagues were more popular than interscholastic athletics. The reason for the popularity in intramural and citywide leagues was due to their accessibility. School interscholastic teams limited the amount of players they could have, while citywide leagues were able to accommodate greater numbers. As several study participants recalled:

> In Honolulu, I joined the Nishiki Club in Palama. We participated in barefoot football and baseball. We played the citywide league.[41]

> . . . outside of school I played a lot of barefoot football, softball, baseball--not basketball which I can't play. We had a great deal of what we called citywide leagues in those days.[42]

> At school where Mr. Ai was principal, he used to promote intramural sports so we used to have basketball, fencing, baseball.[43]

Why was Japanese American participation in interscholastic athletics sparse in proportion to their enrollment figures at city schools like McKinley? Some of the reasons were touched upon in an earlier section, but in addition, there was a sentiment among several study participants that discrimination was practiced against Japanese Americans. Whether this discrimination was based on physical size or ethnicity, there was no evidence of widespread support to substantiate this claim. But according to a male study participant, school athletic teams were mainly composed of "Mostly Portuguese, Hawaiians. . . . Maybe the coach was exaggerating. I still remember Wayne Sterling who was 230 pounds. Today it's no big deal but we thought he was a freak."[44]

In rural areas, athletic participation by Japanese Americans was more proportional to their representation. Unlike city schools where competition was keen and outside factors more prevalent, rural schools did not have to compete against community leagues.

For rural Japanese Americans, the luxuries of city supported athletic facilities were unavailable. Playing and practice facilities were minimal at best, but conditions did not deter participation. As two male study participants commented:

> I remember in track . . . we would wrap our pants around our books and leave them in the bus where we sat, and we used to run from the school to home (twelve miles). That was our way of building our stamina for track. We always beat the bus because we would leave right away and the bus cannot leave before four if all the students cannot come out.[45]

> Where we lived we had a little gymnasium. There was a little clubhouse but it was too small. We tried playing badminton. We had a makeshift park but it wasn't big enough to play softball; but we played softball. We really lacked the facilities that the city kids had.[46]

To Japanese American youths, participating in interscholastic and intramural athletics was a way to identify with American sports heroes such as Babe Ruth, Lou Gehrig, Joe DiMaggio, and Joe Louis. Japanese American children emulated their sports heroes and followed sporting events just as mainland American children did. It was not unusual for mainland sports heroes to play exhibition games, train, or perform in Hawaii during the off-season.

A consequence resulting from the participation of Japanese American children in American sporting events was the formulation of a cultural bond. This cultural bond was one aspect in the Americanization of Japanese American children.

Clubs

Unlike athletic activities which were primarily for boys and those physically able, school clubs were for everyone and a popular source for enhancing the American way of life. Students at McKinley High School were allowed to participate in three clubs at most, not including honor clubs.[47] Although it was never explicitly stated, the purpose of school clubs was to enhance citizenship training. In 1931, Grace Runyan a graduate student at the University of Hawaii concluded that, "One advantage of the club . . . is that it may offer direct as well as indirect citizenship training."[48] For those who were unable to participate in student government, or interscholastic and intramural athletics, clubs provided an alternative experience in citizenship.

For Japanese Americans, there was a wide variety of clubs to choose from. At McKinley High School, clubs were classified into six categories: honor, racial [*sic*], service, prevocational, academic, and miscellaneous social clubs. In 1931, McKinley High School had 42 clubs.[49] By 1935, this number had decreased to 32.[50] In the 1939 and 1941 yearbooks, 23 and 26 clubs were listed.[51] By contrast at Roosevelt English Standard School, the number of clubs from 1935 to 1939 ranged from 23 to 28.[52] To formulate a club charter, the following qualifications had to be met, "an existence for one year, had filed an application the previous year, had high standards and good purposes, membership of at least twenty-five, and a club constitution."[53]

Among study participants, the most popular clubs were service oriented. For boys, the Hi-Y Federation and McKinley Citizenship Club were commonly cited by study participants as clubs they participated in. According to the 1934-1935 McKinley High School student handbook, the purpose of the Hi-Y club was to maintain a high standard of Christian character in the school and community.[54] In the 1930's Japanese Americans were predominantly Buddhist. The Hi-Y club acted as an agent towards Americanizing Japanese Americans to the Christian faith. Synonymous to being American, Christianity has often been proclaimed the unofficial religion of

America. By instilling Japanese American students with Christian attitudes, the Hi-Y club indirectly attempted to Americanize children of immigrant parentage.

For girls, the most popular clubs were the Girls' Reserve, the Girls' Auxiliary McKinley Citizenship Club, Junior Red Cross, and the Future Homemakers of Hawaii. In 1941, the Future Homemakers' of Hawaii club was the largest on campus with a membership of 632 girls, almost eight times greater than any other club.

Examination of school clubs during the 1930's revealed how gender-oriented club activities were. Mixed gender clubs were not as prevalent as they are today. The utility of girls' clubs was different from that of boys. Girls' clubs were directed more toward preparation for marriage and family-oriented activities. Evidence from yearbook descriptions suggest that girls' clubs were secondary to those of boys. An example was the Girls' Auxiliary McKinley Citizenship Club. Organized for girls and synonymous with the citizenship club for boys, the Girls' Auxiliary McKinley Citizenship Club's purpose was "to assist McKinley Citizenship Club [for boys]."[55] The key word here is "assist." The girls' club was designed "to assist," while the boys' club was organized "to create and maintain a stronger school and community spirit, to encourage a spirit of unity and fellowship, to serve willingly at call, to provide a club for successful boys in school, and to develop character and leadership."[56] In essence, boys were groomed to be leaders, while girls were relegated to being followers.

Another example of a gender segregated club was the school band. In the early 1930's, band was primarily a boys' club. Later in the decade, more girls became involved.

Another club which merits attention here was the Japanese Students' Association. Unlike other ethnic clubs cited in McKinley High School yearbooks, the Japanese club's purpose was focused towards Americanization. In the 1931 McKinley High School yearbook, the purpose of the Japanese club was stated as, "To promote closer unity and sympathy, and to encourage the pursuit of higher education among the Japanese students of Hawaii; to aid these students to fit into their American environment."[57] In no other ethnic club was there a stated concern for adapting students to the American environment.

From an examination of school yearbooks during the 1930's, the emphasis of school clubs was geared towards developing good character and instilling a sense of community service. For a majority of study participants, club activities included some sort of service-oriented component. One senses that Japanese American students were encouraged by faculty members to become active participants in community and school affairs. In recalling their experiences with school clubs, study participants said:

> I used to participate in the school's civic club. I was the secretary and we would meet once a month. The other club was a service club. We made our own--it was all girls. We named it the Ready, Willing, Able Club. It was like the Girl Scouts today. If the school had a function, we would provide service like cleaning up, help set things up. The other was the Girl Reserve Club. We went to the YWCA and met different girls from different schools around the whole state.[58]

> Lots of the students were involved in after school programs. I was a strong member of the Hi-Y, YMCA, and I was active in the student senate. In my senior year, I lost to my friend the presidency. I was active with the JPO[Junior Police Officers] system.[59]

> I belonged to the Latin Club. We had a Latin dinner in the school cafeteria. When I was in seventh or eighth grade, I tried out for the drum and bugle corps. From the seventh grade to about junior in high school, we had to participate in parades. Junior high it was the bugle corps, and in high school it was ROTC. It was patriotic.[60]

Based on responses of study participants and club membership pictures in available yearbooks, Japanese Americans showed a strong commitment toward club activities. Within the school environment, clubs were small oases where students practiced parliamentary procedures and learned about American mores. By participating in clubs such as the Future Farmers of America and Future Homemakers of Hawaii, Japanese American students were brought closer to activities that students on the mainland experienced in their school extracurriculum.

School Assemblies

To most educators and the lay public, the primary purpose of school assemblies is to build school spirit. In addition to improving school spirit, assemblies have been cited as instruments for enhancing sportsmanship, leadership, and citizenship.[61]

In 1941, Lily Chong Yap, in her Master's thesis about assembly practices, wrote:

> The assembly today is indispensable in the general school program. As an all school activity where students and teachers get together for the enrichment of school life, the assembly is recognized as a place for social education. Since students in high school are separated by departments, classes and other groupings, the assembly provides that educative experience whereby all members are drawn into a social whole, united for the achievement of worthy ideals of citizenship. The assembly of the high school, therefore, aids in the process of wider socialization and the fostering of school spirit.[62]

In Hawaii, the average assembly occurred once a week and lasted for fifty minutes.[63] The topic for assembly programs varied from musicals to school plays to educational lectures. Based on Yap's study, musical assemblies were the most popular, while lectures without a point were the least liked by students.[64] Of particular interest to the present investigation was the use of assemblies in celebrating important American events. The following assembly programs were listed by Yap as topics during a three year period: American Education Week, National Defense Week, American Music Week, United Welfare Campaign, Safety, Thanksgiving, Lincoln's Birthday, and Christmas.[65] Directly or indirectly, each assembly topic focused on some aspect of American culture. By addressing these topics, educators in Hawaii were training students toward American citizenship. As Yap wrote:

> Recognizing the value of assemblies, more than three-fourths of the teachers responded that there is deliberate planned use of the assembly in the high school as a means to desired educational growth. . . .The educational value of assembly programs may not be found in the excellence of presentation alone. The basic purposes for which the assembly is staged must be constantly kept in mind. The majority of teachers were aware of the purposes of their assemblies. More than three-fourths responded that they were considered in planning the year's program and activity schedule, and were given due consideration when school movements or campaigns were launched. The assemblies were planned toward desired ends of educational growth and toward the enrichment of the school curriculum. The teachers claimed that each assembly has accomplished a purpose in that it was interesting, recreational, appropriate or entertaining. The assemblies have also been well timed, and well prepared; and the programs have been well rendered.[66]

For Japanese Americans, school assemblies represented another place within the school where Americanization was advocated. Conditioned to more serene

behavior, school assemblies allowed Japanese Americans to identify with their mainland counterparts by promoting school spirit and American culture and norms.

Home Recreation

For Japanese American students, a significant portion of their extracurricular activities was found within the confines of their home and neighborhood. School extracurricular activities were limited to time spent in school. With an overwhelming majority of Japanese American students attending Japanese language school after public school hours up through tenth grade, activities at home or at the local playground in the late afternoon, evening, and weekends were more prevalent than for students of other ethnic groups. What did Japanese American students do in their spare time at home? Summarizing their findings, Dorothy Ochiai Hazama and Jane Okamoto Komeiji wrote:

> . . . girls spent some of their leisure hours studying the tea ceremony, flower arrangement, and calligraphy. Still others were sent to sewing schools, where they learned to draft and to sew Western clothing. Boys who were not fishing or playing in organized sports activities could often be found at lessons in the martial arts such as *kendo* or *judo*.[67]

Home recreation for Japanese Americans was basically restricted to late afternoon and weekends. Generally speaking, only after completing household chores and homework were Japanese American children allowed to play. As a number of study participants recollected, recreation at home meant a variety of activities:

> We had a movie, go to a neighbor's home and to the *otera* [church]. The *otera* would be a neighbor's home--people taking turns.[68]

> Because we were not close (we were spread apart), activities first revolved around our immediate brothers and sisters. Then later on among our neighbors.[69]

> We played *jin to ri* [a Japanese children's game]. . . . We never played ball like the kids do now.[70]

In the plantation camp, there was a play field--a baseball field. We kids got together and played baseball. There was a mountain nearby. We would go hiking, etc. We missed out because we could play only on the weekends. When you play baseball you need eighteen players. We only had about fourteen to fifteen players--not enough to make two teams but we managed to play. Sometimes we would urge the guys to come out and play, and they didn't want to so you get mad because we didn't have enough players, etc.[71]

I was a YMCA club leader. We had three groups--Friendly, Pioneer and Comrade. All the meetings were held at the church. We had Christian endeavor class which was a Sunday night class of boys and girls.[72]

During our younger days, we were lucky to have the Okumura dorm. They had a playground, basketball court, baseball field and we went there. They had a swamp in the back. We used to walk through the swamp and get out by Ala Wai Bridge and the entrance to Ala Moana Park, which was the beginning of the water at Ala Moana Boulevard. The bridge went over Ala Wai Canal. The water was fairly clean. We could dive off. We used to walk all the way down to Halekulani Hotel. The beach is still there. Grace Beach was a small little beach where there was sand. We could swim there. That was our playground.[73]

I used to always follow my brothers because there were five above me. The oldest was already working at the age of fourteen. They would tell me go home. I remember I would follow them and when they played baseball, I would get right in there and play baseball, volleyball, seesaw and everything else.[74]

We never had a park. Oh yeah there was for boys for baseball, but for girls we were expected to help out at home. So social activity we just planned ahead if we were going to the movies and usually parents came with us. So social functions maybe the Japanese school would sponsor picnic and we would go to the beach.[75]

We had a playground nearby. . . . The Japanese school ground where the kids played baseball after school and on weekends. There were hardly any cars so the road was dirt road. We used the road to play our games.[76]

I 'd play at the park. Right next to our home was a park where we played basketball, football, baseball, etc. I used to play until my dad from the top of the hill would whistle at me, telling me to come home and have dinner.[77]

For Japanese American children, their only source of daily written communication was the Japanese press, published in Hawaii. In Ernest K. Wakukawa's words, the Japanese press was "the sole medium of education of the people."[78]

To outsiders, the Japanese press was perceived as a threat to Americanization. On the contrary, the Japanese press played an important role in Americanizing both Issei and Nisei generations. Adding to this view, Yasutaro Soga, editor of the *Nippu Jiji* Japanese newspaper during the 1920's and 1930's, wrote:

> As a part of their policy the Japanese newspapers propound to Japanese residents in the territory what the Japanese call "Eiji Dochaku" or permanent residence in Hawaii. This policy is pursued by the Japanese press not with any sinister motive to secure control of these islands or to obtain domination over other races, but with the idea of inducing the Japanese to become a part of the land of their residence. The Japanese press believes that the longer the Japanese live in Hawaii, the more interested they will become in Hawaii's affairs and things American, and the more they come to know about America the better it is for the Americanization of themselves and their children.[79]

According to study participants, the Japanese newspaper did not create any major culture conflicts, although several study participants mentioned how some stories were slanted to reflect a positive view of Japan. The English section was an invaluable source of information for study participants. The English section provided study participants with daily accounts of international, national, territorial, and community events.

For Isseis, who for the most part did not speak or read English, the Japanese press provided "information relating to practically everything, from the enactment of new laws down to the social customs . . . of the country of their residence."[80] The benefit of the Japanese press for Niseis was addressed by Soga:

> The English section of the *Nippu Jiji* is largely devoted to promoting understanding between Japanese and American communities, and also to the promotion of interest of Japanese children growing up into American citizens . . . parents of Japanese children finding it a valuable source of information for their children who prefer to read and speak English rather than Japanese.[81]

Besides the Japanese press and its English section, Japanese American students demonstrated an appreciation for reading. With limited access to radio and television programs, Japanese American children during the 1930's developed a fondness for literary material. A number of study participants mentioned the fact that Saturday was their day to go to the public library and check out books. Popular

reading material among study participants included: *Book of Knowledge, Harvard Classics, Wonder World, Collier's, Boy's Life,* encyclopedias, travel books, comics like "Mutt and Jeff" and "Orphan Annie," Jack Runyan stories, *The Last of the Mohicans,* and other American Indian stories. As several study participants mentioned:

> When I ran out of school books, I used to study the dictionary.[82]
>
> There was an author, Altsheller? At that time it was about early woodsmen. They had a whole series of outdoor books about Indians and hunting and things like that. I read a lot of that. Zane Grey westerns.[83]
>
> Those days the only thing we could read was the comics in the newspaper. I like the pioneer days. James Fenimore Cooper used to write about Indians. I used to like to read about the farms. When I was a kid I used to think that farms were only what the Haoles had.[84]
>
> During my growing up years, I had a fondness for history books. In my fifth grade year, I read about all the explorers. I used to read the *Shadow* magazine, Lamont Cranston. Shakespeare like that we had to read in high school.[85]
>
> I recall reading a magazine called *Boy's Life*. I don't know if they have that now. It was my father who bought that. It was put out by the Boy Scouts of America. It had a lot of adventure stories, travel stories. I remember reading that almost cover to cover.[86]

In addition to written materials, Japanese Americans were attracted to the sounds of the radio. While Isseis listened to Japanese programs, Niseis devoted their attention to American programs like Orson Welles' "Shadow Knows," "Lone Ranger," "Jack Benny," "Fibber McGee and Molly," "Hit Parade," "Longines," and semi-classic music. Some of the radio experiences recalled by study participants included the following:

> My mother used to say she didn't want me to listen to the radio, because I wanted everything they had to sell.[87]
>
> We didn't have a radio, and I used to envy those who had one as I walked to and from school. I used to look at the roof tops. I don't remember why but I used to envy them.[88]
>
> Radio was the primary thing. It was the main source of entertainment. I remember listening to the "Shadow," "Lone Ranger." I don't think we had a radio until the later years. In order to listen to the "Shadow," I used to go to my aunt's house at a certain time.[89]

> I remember hearing "Amos and Andy," "Jack Armstrong, the All-American Boy," etc. . . . We listened to the radio quite a bit.[90]

> We listened on Sunday nights to "Jack Benny" and "Fred Allen." They were each thirty minute programs. I remember Kate Smith who was the singer. Ted Collins was the emcee. There was one about prophecy. I think it was "Nostradamus." He was an ancient prophet. This program showed that certain things happened. They had Kay Kayser and his music. We had only Sundays that we could listen. Other days we had studies and jobs. We had no time.[91]

> My favorite used to be the "Hit Parade." A recent article in the paper said you're old if you know what LSMFT (Lucky Strike Means Fine Tobacco) stood for. [92]

Besides serial and music radio programs, Japanese Americans were active listeners of American sporting events such as baseball and boxing. It was through the radio that Japanese Americans became familiar with such American household names as Babe Ruth, Lou Gehrig, Joe DiMaggio, and Joe Louis.

Another source of home-related recreation was provided by the Buddhist church. Envisioned by outsiders as a retardant to Americanization, the Buddhist church provided a friendly place for Japanese Americans to socialize and congregate. As Dennis M. Ogawa wrote:

> The Buddhist Church became for the second-generation Japanese the source of social gatherings with "their own kind." Dances, athletic events, social clubs--the opportunity to socialize with friends and meet members of the opposite sex--all these became primary functions of the religious institution.[93]

Supporting Ogawa's summation above, a study participant said the following about activities in the neighborhood:

> It centered around the Buddhist temple which had sports activities for kids--baseball, etc. They had youth club. Also, in the plantation we had what is known as a social club practically all the Japanese people belonged to. The social club had their officers, etc. They tried to offer certain entertainment like stage plays, movies on the weekends for the Japanese. I think every family paid in so much to the social club, but the plantation built a hall for the community.[94]

Although community organizations like the Boy Scouts, the YMCA, and the church contributed to the recreational activities of Japanese Americans outside school, the main recreational activity revolved around their immediate home and

neighborhood. Besides the public school, Japanese American children spent most of their time at home and in the immediate neighborhood. Japanese American children gathered with neighborhood children to play games on the street or in a child's yard. If a park was located nearby, children played there.

The 1930's in Hawaii was an era of simple pleasures. In order to satisfy spare time, Japanese American children did not, and could not, rely on modern conveniences such as video games and other activities commonly found today. Children were forced to be creative in devising ways to occupy free time. Activities commonly associated with Hawaii such as fishing, diving, surfing, swimming, and other water-related sports were taken up by boys. For girls, home activities included learning how to sew and cook and performing the tea ceremony and other Japanese cultural arts. Home activities for Japanese American children were traditional in the sense that boys were expected to do certain things, and girls had their own domain. Unlike today, home recreation and activities were gender specific for Japanese American children.

Research Question Addressed in the Present Paper

The present paper addressed the following research question: What role did extracurricular activities at school and at home have on the Americanization of Japanese American children in Hawaii during the 1930's?

Extracurricular activities such as interscholastic and intramural sports, clubs, and student government gave Japanese American students an opportunity to participate and practice American customs and games. No single activity had a great effect towards Americanizing Japanese Americans in Hawaii, but taken as a whole, the influence provided by these extracurricular activities subconsciously instilled American ideals into their recipients.

In the public schools, Japanese Americans participated in an experiment, which used the effects of extracurricular activities to assimilate the American way of life. At home, extracurricular activities complemented the work of the public school. Japanese American children listened to American radio programs and read stories about American folk heroes. Although their parents taught them about their ancestry,

lessons were meant to supplement their education, not combat it. The value of extracurricular activities has often been debated, but in the case of Japanese Americans, these activities both at school and at home played an important factor toward enculturating American customs and way of life.

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